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ABSTRACT

Academia is one of the professions in which socially constructed fictions have tremendous power. Years of graduate study and the power of academic mentors creates an environment which deeply socializes future academics. The image of the academic professional which is currently promulgated emerged during the expansionist (post-World War II) period of higher education. In this conception, the scholar is seen primarily as a researcher pursuing knowledge for its own sake. The teaching role has been given much less emphasis. During this same expansionist period, higher education began to serve a much broader and more diverse clientele with more varied academic needs. For these two transformations to now become compatible, a broader conception of scholarship is urgently needed. Such a conception would have at least four elements. While new knowledge acquired through reasoning and analytical theory-building is valuable, knowledge gained through experience must also be seen as legitimate. Second, specialized knowledge must be reintegrated. That is, scholars must look for new relationships between the parts and the whole. This synthesis can be achieved through an emphasis on interdisciplinarity. Third, scholarship must begin to address the pragmatic needs of the larger world. The pursuit of knowledge to solve societal problems must be valued as scholarship of the first order. Finally, the scholarship of teaching, in which research is conducted on effective and appropriate teaching methods, must be emphasized for all scholars. Teaching that is not grounded in the most recent research is not appropriate for a college or university setting. A 21-item bibliography is included. (PAA)

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RETHINKING WHAT IT MEANS TO BE A SCHOLAR

R. Eugene Rice

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The rich diversity of our system of higher learning and the democratic aspirations that shape it require a broader understanding of scholarship.

RETHINKING WHAT IT MEANS TO BE A SCHOLAR

R. Eugene Rice

A reevaluation of what is meant by scholarship is long overdue. The structural diversity of higher education has created a press for change, and recent research on the American professoriate and the undergraduate experience has demonstrated the need. What we are facing is not an internecine problem in higher education; it is a societal issue. A nation that increasingly sees itself as a "knowledge society" is compelled to examine the foundations of the scholarship on which that knowledge is based.

To move beyond the current impasse we need to be willing to take a fresh approach and think more creatively about what it means to be a scholar in the contemporary context. The language and polarities that are used to frame the present discussion need to be set aside. The old "teaching-versus-research" debate is especially tiring; minds are closed, not opened.

Scholarship in Context

In trying to make sense of what has happened to American faculty in recent years, I find myself being driven back to my own discipline, sociology, and particularly the sociology of religion. I am convinced that much about life is defined and shaped by socially constructed fictions, patterns of meaning that cohere in a particular time and place. The American poet Wallace Stevens said it best:

> The final belief is to believe in a fiction, which you know to be a fiction, there being nothing else. The exquisite truth is to know that it is a fiction and that you believe in it willingly (Stevens, 1957, p. 163).

Nowhere in the contemporary world do socially constructed fictions have more power than in the professions. And no profession--with the possible exception of medicine--takes its own professional imagery more seriously than the academic. Reference needs only to be made to the years of graduate school socialization and to the power that academic mentors have in the lives of their proteges to make the argument.

The image that dominated the academic profession prior to World War II, particularly in the liberal arts colleges that then played a larger role in higher education, was that of the teacher-scholar. After a two-year study of faculty development programs in twenty of the nation's selective liberal arts colleges, William Nelson published a book

calling for the renewal of the "teacher-scholar." The call for renewal, is, itself, testimony to the demise of that occupational ideal. During the earlier decades of this century, however, the teacher-scholar was an image widely shared. Nelson finds the teacher-scholar ideal articulated best in the faculty handbook of Davidson College:

> Ideally the college professor would be a widely respected scholar excited about learning and capable of communicating this excitement to others, a teacher deeply concerned with the welfare of students and eager to have them learn and grow, one who teaches imaginatively both by books and by personal example, a demanding yet compassionate person who respects the moral worth of students and their potential for growth (Nelson, 1981, p. 7)

Sometime after the mid-1950s, following the impact of the G. I. Bill of Rights and launching of Sputnik, a major shift took place in the image of what it meant to be an academic professional. Scholarship became research; teaching and research become activities that competed for the faculty member's time. The term scholarship, if it was used at all, referred to research, not teaching. Teaching became a derivative activity. In the consciousness of the faculty, as they thought about their working lives, the teacher-scholar as a model to be emulated had migrated from the core of the profession to the margins.

This expansionist period in higher education brought with it a new conception of the academic professional. The

constituent parts of this new professional image existed in nascent form throughout the early history of American higher education, with roots going back to Britain, Scotland and Germany. But, it was only in the heady days of what seemed to be limitless growth, affluence, and societal influence that the component elements fused to form a powerful and dominant conception.

In a 1968 essay on professions, Talcott Parsons (1968) described the "educational revolution" that he saw coming to full fruition in American society after World War II. Fundamental to this revolution was the process of professionalization, a process that he regarded as "the most important single component in the structure of modern societies" (p. 545). According to Parsons' elaborate theory, the keystone in the arch of the professionally oriented society is the modern university, and "the profession <u>par excellence</u> is the academic" (p. 545). He also described the impact of professionalization on the role of the typical faculty member:

> The typical professor now resembles the scientist more than the gentleman-scholar of an earlier time. As a result of the process of professionalization, achievement criteria are now given the highest priority, reputations are established in national and international forums rather than locally defined, and the center of gravity has shifted to the graduate faculties and their newly professionalized large-scale research function (Parsons, 1968, p. 545).

What is most striking about this statement is that what he describes is not the typical professor. What he

articulates is the dominant fiction by which typical American professors measure themselves and their colleagues as professionals. The image of the academic professional that emerged during the expansionist days of higher education not only shaped the self-conceptions of faculty but informed institutional policies and determined, in large part, who received promotion, tenure, and such amenities as leaves of absence and funding for travel and research.

Clustering around this dominant professional image were the following basic assumptions:

1. Research is the central professional endeavor and the focus of academic life.
2. Quality in the profession is maintained by peer review and professional autonomy.
3. Knowledge is pursued for its own sake.
4. The pursuit of knowledge is best organized according to discipline (i.e., according to discipline-based departments).
5. Reputations are established through national and international professional associations.
6. The distinctive task of the academic professional is the pursuit of cognitive truth.
7. Professional rewards and mobility accrue to those who persistently accentuate their specializations.

This scholar vision and the interrelated complex of assumptions on which it was built contributed to an extraordinary advancement of knowledge. The increased specialization, the new levels of funding for research, and the rigorous exchange and critique of ideas produced

undeniable benefits. So much was achieved that toward the end of the 1960s, Christopher Jencks and David Riesman could join Parsons in proclaiming that an "academic revolution" had actually occurred.

During that same expansionist, post-World War II period, another academic revolution took place--equally as significant and certainly as dramatic. An already diverse system of higher education exploded with growth and innovation, changing in size, complexity, and capacity to meet the rich variety of educational needs across the states and regions of the nation. These two dramatic transformations in American higher education could be contained as long as budgets were expanding, enrollments increasing, and programs were being added. It was soon evident, however, that these two remarkable revolutions encompassed serious contradictions and were not easy to reconcile. At the heart of the tension created by these significant changes were the role of faculty and the meaning of scholarship.

We want to challenge the cluster of assumptions emerging from the first of these revolutions--listed above--not because it is inappropriate in itself; in fact, most of the elements have been fully institutionalized in the present-day research university. This conception of the academic scholar is being questioned because it became normative, and continues to be so, for the majority of the American

professoriate, dominating faculty thinking about themselves professionally in institutional contexts where it is no longer appropriate and causing faculty to see themselves disenfranchised as scholars.

The dominant image of the academic scholar--the older consensus--was a product of the first of the revolutions. Most faculty, however, find themselves working in institutions produced by the second revolution, requiring other sorts of scholarly talents.

One of the places where we see tne older view having its most pernicious influence is where institutions are launching a renewed drive toward academic excellence--frequently this comes with inauguration of a new president. Excellence--increased quality--is defined in terms of the improved productivity of faculty: increased national visibility and more research (usually without the increase in resources needed to make this possible without detracting from undergraduate instruction). When pressed for a definition of academic quality there is a return to the older conception. What we need now is a broader, more appropriate, view.

Scholarship: An Enlarged View

A broader conception of scholarship would have at least four elements, all of them legitimate and, taken in the aggregate, tending to fulfill the scholarly commitments of the college and university to society. According to the

conventional view only one way of knowing is fully recognized and honored. Scholarship is narrowly defined as the advancement of knowledge--the discovery and creation of new knowledge in a disciplinary specialization. This is a limited view. We contend that knowledge is utilized in a variety of ways and that these other forms of scholarship--these other ways of knowing--are as legitimate, significant, and needed as the dominant mode. Our broader conception of scholarship would obviously include the discovery of knowledge but extend to also incorporate the scholarship of integration, of application, and the kind of scholarly work most directly related to teaching, what we have chosen to call the scholarship of teaching.

Because of the deep dissatisfaction with the narrow view currently in place, much is already being done to try to enlarge our understanding of what counts as scholarship and to find ways to recognize and reward a wider range of scholarly activity. What is being proposed here builds on what is already being done and is intended to provide a perspective that will move the discussion ahead.

At the heart of even the current conception of scholarship is learning. Faculty are encouraged to engage in research and publication to advance what is known in a field. For most faculty, however, the primary purpose of specialized inquiry in the discipline is to keep them intellectually alive and curious--continuously learning. In our proposal,

learning continues to be the central element in scholarship, but is related more directly to the diverse scholarly tasks professors are called upon to perform in their day-to-day work in the college or university. One form of scholarship--the discovery of new knowledge--is important, and certainly has its place, but is not enough. A larger view is called for if the profound tensions we identified earlier are to be addressed.

If we build on the recent inquiry into the structure of knowledge and alternative approaches to learning, a different configuration, a more constructive way of framing the discussion emerges. A review of the literature on the various dimensions of learning reveals two fundamental polarities.

The Concrete-Abstract Polarity. The first polarity deals with how knowledge is perceived. At one pole is the abstract, analytical approach usually associated with traditional academic research. This learning orientation strives for objectivity, requires high levels of specialization, and takes pride in its claim to being "value-free." At the other end of this first continuum is an orientation that begins with concrete experience and what is learned from contexts and relationships, valuing communities. At the abstract pole are found the hard sciences, physics and mathematics, particularly. At the other pole is a different approach to learning, one that builds on connection and

relationships, where values reveal rather than mask what is worth knowing. Recent literary studies that attempt to understand literature in terms of time and place would be found here. Ethnic studies and women's studies, in their struggle for legitimacy, have helped us recognize the power of context, relationships, and community in our approach to learning. Certainly, knowledge comprehended through objective reasoning and analytical theory-building must be acknowledged and honored, but knowledged apprehended through connections grounded in human community--relational knowing--must also be seen as legitimate.

The Reflective-Active Polarity. The second basic dimension of learning has to do with how knowledge is processed. Do we learn best through detached reflection and observation or through active engagement? The liberal arts tend to be more reflective, with an emphasis on learning for its own sake. In contrast, so many of the more recent developments in American colleges and universities have moved toward the more active pole, toward active engagement with the world, making a difference. The new programs in business, computer sciences, and communications are found here. The emphasis is on learning that is instrumental, a means to a more practical end. Again, we want the approaches to learning represented at both poles of the continuum to be recognized and honored. Certainly, knowledge rooted in

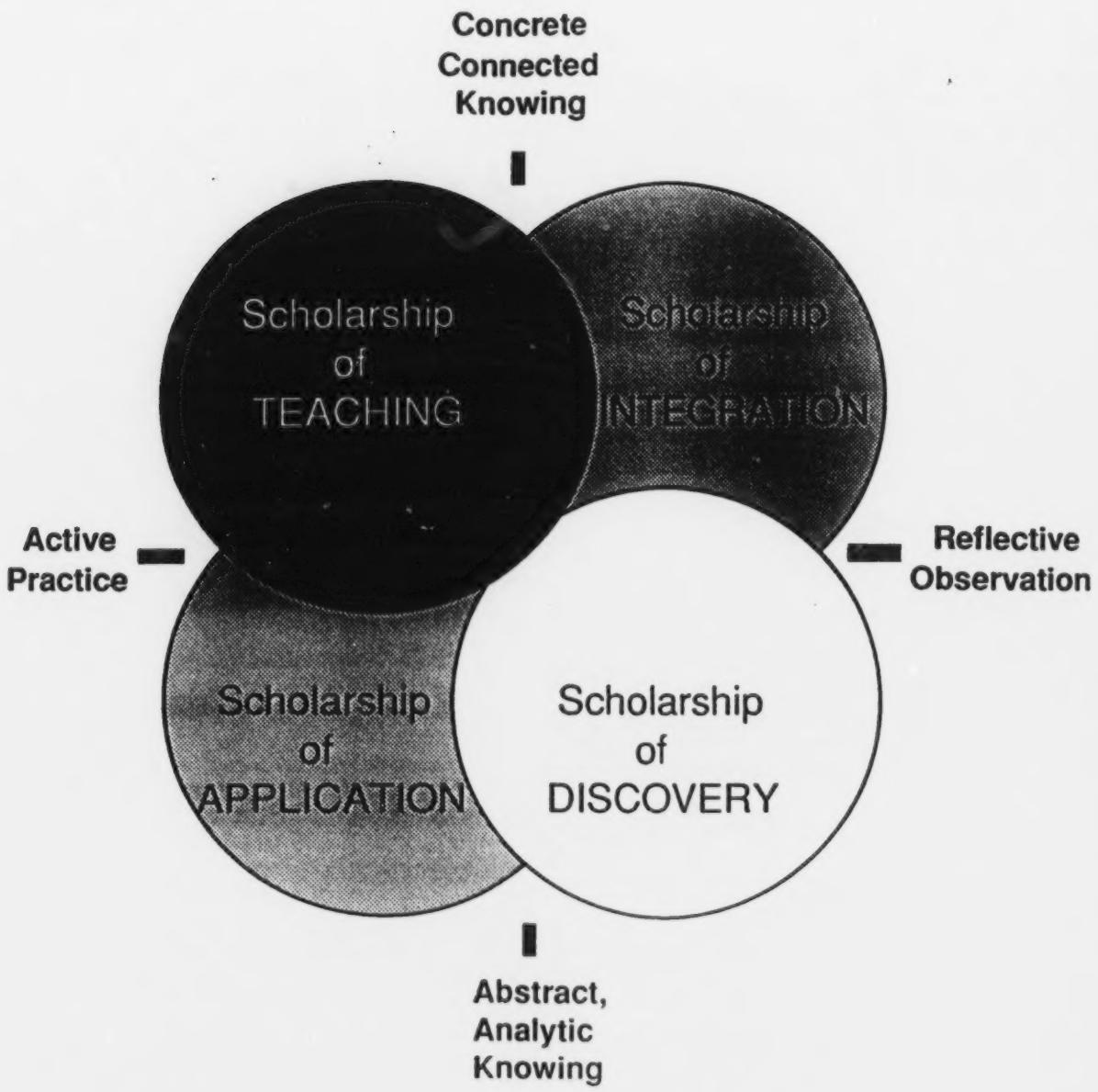
scholarly reflection and observation has its place, but so does knowledge generated out of active practice.

David A. Kolb (1981) and other scholars has taken these two basic dimensions of learning, how knowledge is perceived (concrete-abstract) and how it is processed (reflective-active), and constructed a learning model that is particularly helpful in our effort to define scholarship more broadly. Just as learning can be characterized as a multi-dimensional process involving different styles and approaches to learning, so our broader conception of scholarship can be depicted as an interrelated whole with distinctive components and approaches to knowing.

[See the following diagram]

The Forms of Scholarship

The scholarship of discovery. The first element in this broader conception of scholarship--still a key element--is the discovery of knowledge. On this facet, everyone agrees. And, in no way do we want to be perceived as detracting from the significance of specialized research. If that were the result of this effort we would have been seriously misunderstood. The place of pure research, the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, needs to be assiduously defended, particularly in a society primarily committed to the pragmatic and too often concerned more with whether something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DISCOVERY
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works over the short term than with whether it is of lasting value. We are also concerned about efforts to move basic research beyond the campus to government centers or industry. Such a move could compromise the integrity of this aspect of scholarship and undermine the intellectual vitality of the academy.

Scholarship as it is currently defined tends to be framed in terms of a professor's discoveries and contributions to the storehouse of human knowledge. Who are the scholars? They are the ones engaging in cutting-edge research on the frontiers of knowledge, the ones unearthing new ideas. In 1919, in his famous address on "Science as a Vocation," Max Weber acknowledged that the Western world had entered into a phase of specialization previously unknown and that in his words:

> Only by strict specialization can the scientific worker become fully conscious, for once and perhaps never again in his lifetime, that he has achieved something that will endure. A really definitive and good accomplishment is today always a specialized accomplishment (Weber, 1919, in Gerth and Mills, 1958, p. 135).

The contention of this noted German scholar is persuasive. There is no disputing that, if scholarship is to be sustained in our day, the specialized advancement of knowledge is required. In fact, we should urgently insist that scholarship have as one of its anchor points the discovery of

new knowledge--what has traditionally been known as original research.

The scholarship of integration. The extension of the frontiers of knowledge is, however, not enough. The second element in scholarship is the integration of knowledge, and undertaking as critical to the understanding of our world as the discovery of knowledge that is new. In fact, the extension of specialization itself requires new forms of integration. Without the continual effort at reintegration, we have fragmentation. It was also Weber who warned of the possibility of a modern world filled with "specialists without spirit, and sensualists without heart." (Weber, 1919, in Gerth and Mills, 1958, p.135).

The integration of knowledge requires a divergent approach to knowing--a different kind of scholarship--one that reaches across disciplinary boundaries, and pulls disparate views and information together in creative ways. Scholars are needed with a capacity to synthesize, to look for new relationships between the parts and the whole, to relate the past and future to the present, and to fetter out patterns of meaning that cannot be seen through traditional disciplinary lenses.

It is through integrative inquiry that ethical questions will be raised in a natural and systematic way. We will not have to suffer through the ethics spasms that now grip higher education about every decade, triggered either by a Watergate

or a scandal on Wall Street. This is not a call for the "gentleman scholar" of an earlier time, or the dilettante who dabbles here and there, but broadly education men and women who are serious about making the kinds of scholarly connections so much needed in our time.

Cliford Geertz, the anthropologist, writes about shifts in the world of scholarship as fundamental changes in "the way we think about the way we think" (Geertz, 1980, p. 166). The older disciplinary boundaries are being challenged on every hand, knowledge constantly spills over. The strength of our disciplines is often more political than intellectual.

The scholarship of application. The third form of scholarship is the most distinctively American. The great land-grant institutions were established during the nineteenth century precisely for the purpose of applying knowledge to the enormous agricultural and technical problems confronting society. These schools and their utilitarian missions matched the mood and needs of an emerging nation. In the academic profession today, however, there is a disturbing gap between what is valued as scholarship and the pragmatic needs of the larger world.

This ironic development in American higher education has multiple roots, but one important strand can be traced back to the emergence of professional education and, specifically, to the impact of the Flexner report on medical education (incidentally, one of the first of Carnegie commissioned

studies). The major effect of the Flexner report was to move medical education into the research university and greatly increase its scientific component. The other professions followed medicine's lead. Practical competence became professional when grounded in systematic, preferably scientific knowledge. The application of knowledge took on value--rigor and prestige--when derived from original research. In the most pragmatic society in the world, scholarship was conceptualized as independent of, and prior to, practice.

Professional schools are now beginning to challenge this hierarchical conception of scholarship that makes the application of knowledge derivative, and consequently, second best. Donald Schon's (1983, 1986) work on "the reflective practitioner" calls for a reassessment of the relationship between scholarship and practice--a new "epistemology of practice." His work is especially influential in the field of architecture where the relationship with the research university and its established definition of scholarship has been one of perpetual tension.

Even in medicine, the connection between basic research and practice is being realigned. Harvard Medical School has instituted a "New Pathways Program" that attempts to build clinical practice into medical education from the very beginning. Ernest Lynton and Sandra Elman (1987) along with other scholars, raise a whole range of important questions

about the relationship between scholarship and professional service. Should not the application of knowledge to the problems of society be acknowledged as a scholarly endeavor of the first order?

The scholarship of teaching. This brings us to the fourth dimension of scholarship--the relationship of teaching and scholarship. This is the most difficult form of scholarship to discuss because we do not have the appropriate language. In the working lives of individual faculty, scholarship and teaching are often seen as antithetical--competing for one's time and attention. This is a reflection of the way in which we conceptualize both tasks. We want to challenge this understanding and argue that quality teaching requires substantive scholarship that builds on, but is distinct from original research, and that this scholarly effort needs to be recognized and rewarded.

This is a special kind of scholarship that has for too long been implicit, unacknowledged, and virtually unnamed. Some are now willing to talk about "a missing paradigm."

This fourth dimension of scholarship has an integrity of its own, but is deeply embedded in the other three forms--the discovery, integration, and application of knowledge. In addition, the scholarship of teaching has three distinct elements: first, the synoptic capacity, the ability to draw the strands of a field together in a way that provides both coherence and meaning, to place what is known in context and

open the way for connection to be made between the knower and the known; second, what Lee Shulman (1987) calls "pedagogical content knowledge," the capacity to represent a subject in ways that transcend the split between intellectual substance and teaching process, usually having to do with the metaphors, analogies, and experiments used; and third, what we know about learning, scholarly inquiry into how students "make meaning"--to use William Perry's (1981) phrase--out of what the teacher says and does.

While we want to treat the four forms of scholarship as individually distinctive, we also want them to be understood as interrelated and often overlapping--an interdependent whole, with each distinctive form encompassing each of the other three. For example, scholarship that is primarily integrative can also lead to important discoveries and provide the intellectual undergirding for the best sort of undergraduate teaching.

The view of scholarship being proposed here is more inclusive, reaching out to encompass a wider array of scholarly activities than does the present conception. While being more inclusive, however, this enlarged view has its own boundaries; the four aspects of scholarship are discrete types but form a conceptual whole that is every bit as important as the parts.

Implied here are assumptions about the kind of scholarship appropriate for the academy--colleges and

universities. For instance, teaching that is not grounded in the most recent research in the field and is oblivious to the interconnections with other disciplines is not appropriate for a college or university setting. Instruction of this sort might better be found in the corporate classroom or the military. On the other hand, it is important that narrow, specialized research take place in a broader scholarly context--a university--where critical questions are raised and scholars are made mindful by students and colleagues that academic freedom carries with it special responsibilities. The recent debate over genetic engineering underscores this point. As Alfred North Whitehead, in his essay on "Universities and Their Function," observes:

> At no time have universities been restricted to pure abstract learning....The justification for a university is that it preserves the connection between knowledge and the zest for life, by uniting the young and the old in the imaginative consideration of learning. (Whitehead, 1949, p. 97)

We know that what is being proposed challenges a hierarchical arrangement of monumental proportions--a status system that is firmly fixed in the consciousness of the present faculty and the academy's organizational policies and practices. What is being called for is a broader, more open field where these different forms of scholarship can interact, inform, and enrich one another, and faculty can

follow their interests, build on their strengths, and be rewarded for what they spend most of their scholarly energy doing. All faculty ought to be scholars in this broader sense, deepening their preferred approaches to knowing but constantly pressing, and being pressed by peers, to enlarge their scholarly capacities and encompass other--often contrary ways--of knowing.

We want to place the different forms of scholarship on a larger institutional canvas. The primary goal of this effort is to match the rich mix of approaches to higher education already institutionalized and thriving in America with an equally vibrant, multidimensional vision of the scholarly enterprise.

An enlarged conception of scholarship would address a number of critical problems currently plaguing both individual faculty and colleges and universities across the several sectors of higher education. It would free us to celebrate individual strengths--the rich variety of scholarly talents represented in the faculty--and make it possible for colleges and universities, not committed primarily to specialized research (the majority), to feel pride in their distinctive scholarly missions.

Scholarship and Democratic Community

This special report takes its lead from Emerson's famous address "The American Scholar." That 1837 speech called for a new approach to scholarship and the role of the scholar, one--not borrowed from "the learning of other lands"--but self-confident and fully engaged with the realities of a vibrant, developing democracy.

One hundred and twenty-six years later--scarcely a block from where Emerson spoke--Clark Kerr addressed the future of the American university and identified four challenges that would transform higher education in this country. He told his Harvard audience: "The university is being called upon to educate previously unimagined numbers of students; to respond to the expanding claims of national service; to merge its activities with industry as never before; to adapt to and rechannel new intellectual currents." Kerr then predicted that only when this transformation had taken place would we have "a truly American university, an institution unique in world history, an institution not looking to other models but serving, itself, as a model for universities in other parts of the globe" (Kerr, 1983, p. 87).

American higher education stands now on the threshold of that transformation. Over the past thirty years, colleges and universities have taken on the diverse challenges articulated by Kerr and much has been accomplished. Other nations--Asian, European, African--are looking our way for a

model, a decentralized but coherent model, meeting diverse societal needs and responding to the call for both equity and excellence. Looming especially large in our immediate future are the challenges posed by the immense demographic changes in our society. The rich racial, ethnic, and cultural diversity marking America from its beginning has taken on new significance as the minorities in our cities, and even states, such as California, become majorities. Diversity, which American higher education sees as one of its primary strengths, has taken on new meaning.

What it means to be a scholar in American colleges and universities must be seen within this larger frame. Not only do our institutions have diverse missions--commitments to serving a wide range of scholarly needs within region, states, and nation--but there is the special commitment to the education of an increasingly diverse population, to the intellectual preparation of the educated citizenry necessary for making a genuinely democratic society possible. Scholarship in this context takes on broader meaning.

We believe that an enlarged view would nurture inclusion, draw together rather than separate, and embrace students and their learning as well as faculty and their research. This understanding of scholarly activity would also acknowledge and build on the relational nature of knowledge as well as more abstract, objective ways of knowing. The narrower view no longer suffices. For

colleges and universities to contribute fully to the vibrant pluralistic democracy this nation is becoming, a vision of the distinctively new American scholar is needed.

Early in our national life, Thomas Jefferson forged the link between a thoroughly educated citizenry and democracy. If the people are "the ultimate guardians of their own liberty," then, as Jefferson writes to James Madison in 1787: "The only sure reliance for the preservation of our liberty is to educate and inform the whole mass of the people." The fundamental assumption that quality education is the best "guarantor of liberty" undergirds much of the enormous investment Americans have made in higher education.

From this perspective, a broader notion of scholarship takes on new priority. The conventional conception of scholarly excellent, and even educational quality, tends to be--in the perceptions of many--hierarchical, exclusive, and unconnected, a prime contributor to what Robert Bellah (1985) has tagged "the culture of separation." An enlarged view of scholarship--one particularly appropriate for an open, democratic community--would be more inclusive, welcoming diverse approaches to learning and knowing. As Reinhold Niebuhr, one of this century's most thoughtful commentators on democracy, put it:

> Democracy cannot exist if there is no recognition of the fragmentary character of all systems of value which are allowed to exist within its frame (Niebuhr, quoted in Bingham, 1972, p. 303).

And, elsewhere:

> An open society winnows truth from error partly by allowing a free competition of interest and partly by establishing a free market of competing ideas (Niebuhr, quoted in Bingham, 1972, p. 303).

What distinguishes truth, insomuch as we can have it at all from untruth, is not conformity to society's historical traditions on the dictates of some learned canon, but free inquiry in a community that is open and inclusive and where the exchange of ideas is thorough and spirited. Here democracy and learning grow apace, freedom and knowledge advance together.

There is no reason why an American college or university should have to choose between a common legacy and cultural diversity, especially in a nation where diversity is a legacy. As the philosopher Alisdair MacIntyre noted in his lecture "How to Be a North American":

> Like members of all other societies we need to share in a conversation and to understand each other as participating in a common enterprise whose one story is the story of us all, so that our present conversation emerges from the extended, complex but nonetheless in some ways continuous debates of the past. Yet those of us in America who come together do so from a variety of cultures with a heterogeneous variety of pasts and a variety of stories to tell. If we do not recover and identify with the particularities of our own community...then we shall lose what it is that we have to contribute to the common culture." (quoted in Green, 1987, p. 23).

This legacy of diversity makes the scholarship of teaching especially important, and difficult. We need to know more about the different kinds of students populating our classrooms and how they learn. How can we provide an intellectual climate that is both supportive and challenging, that nurtures the capacity for both critical thinking and the tolerance for ambiguity? How can we cultivate a common culture strong enough to sustain a functioning democracy while adequately representing and honoring the diversity, out of which what binds us together, must necessarily spring? As Jonathan Z. Smith dean of undergraduate studies at the University of Chicago, puts it, college learning constitutes an "ultimately political quest for paradigms, for the acquisition of the powers of informed judgments, for the dual capacities of appreciation and criticism" (quoted in Green, 1987, p.22).

To ready students for participation in a democratic, yet heterogeneous and increasingly fractious society, American colleges and universities need the scholarship of integration that moves toward coherence and makes it possible for students to generalize as well as specialize. As William Green, professor of religious studies at the University of Rochester, writes:

> The aim is to equip students with the capacity to comprehend by themselves what is unknown or alien to them, to give them the skills to make sense on their own of what they have not yet read, seen,

> heard, thought or experienced. Perhaps quixotically, American higher education attempts to nurture in vast numbers of undergraduates a disciplined and critical intellectual autonomy. It does so with the melioristic conviction that, as a polity and a society, our best chance to make our world humanely inhabitable is to render it intelligible first (Green, 1987, p.22).

It is that capacity for continual learning, for making connection, not only as autonomous individuals, but in relationship with others that contributes to the viability of democratic community. Especially important is the full acknowledgment and honoring of knowledge that emerges, not only from specialized research and scholarly abstraction, but from the rich experience of the diverse communities that constitute this richly textured society.

In Democracy in America, de Tocqueville expressed alarm that practical considerations in American society would overpower "the theoretical and abstract side of human knowledge.":

> In America the purely practical side of science is cultivated admirably, and trouble is taken about the theoretical side immediately necessary to application. On this side the Americans always display a clear, free, original, and creative turn of mind. But hardly anyone in the United States devotes himself to the essentially theoretical and abstract side of human knowledge. In this the Americans carry to excess a trend which can, I think, be noticed, though in a less degree, among all democratic nations.

Since the Jacksonian era, the pendulum--at least in the university--has swung in the opposite direction, from the applied to the abstract and theoretical. A vital democratic community needs both, one cannot be subsumed under the other, as is the case with the present conception. The enlarged view being advocated here recognized the legitimacy of a scholarship of application which would foster the learning from practice and bring the rich research resources and other scholarly talents found in the university and college to bear on the serious social, economic, and technological problems confronting our local communities, nation, and world.

Democratic community also requires the scholarship of discovery. In fact, free open inquiry--the prerequisite for discovery--is, as we have seen, the life-blood of a democracy. But that discovery, which convention has taught us to expect on the leading edge of highly specialized research, needs to be grounded in and thoroughly related to the broader scholarly concerns with integration, application, and teaching. Only then will society be well served by the academy.

At the beginning of this century, Stanford's President, David Starr Jordan, observed that "the true American University lies in the future." At that time, higher education in this country had yet to find its own place, to develop distinctive functions and missions. Most of what was done was borrowed from older models and other lands.

During the second half of the twentieth century, American higher education--in its many forms--has refined its purposes and sharpened its missions. Although broadly disaggregated, American colleges and universities have, by now, identified the important educational tasks and targeted the serious societal needs that must be met. A wonderfully rich mix of institutions has been created to carry out these responsibilities. The distinctively American university Jordan was looking for is on the verge of realization. Standing in the way of that realization, however, is the lack of a distinctively American view of the role of the scholar. When the critical work of faculty is considered, we continue to rely on an older, imported view that was, in fact, in vogue in Jordan's day--at the turn of the century. The rich diversity of our system of higher learning and the democratic aspirations that shape it require a broader understanding of scholarship--a new American Scholar.

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